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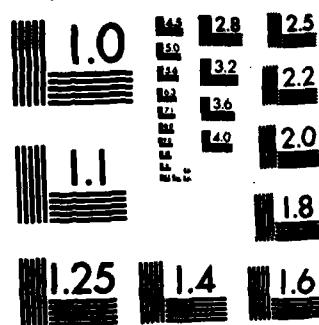
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IDENTIFYING KEY VARIABLES IN INTERCULTURAL INTERACTION

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During the past two decades, there has been a phenomenal increase in the number of people and ideas which find themselves outside the boarders of their culture of origin. As the number of sojourn experiences has increased so has the amount of research aimed at understanding the consequences of a sojourn. This has resulted in a body of empirical research which offers many insights into the nature and consequences of a sojourn.

What does this body of research tell us? Unfortunately, the results of the research are not usually comparable because most researchers ask a wide spectrum of questions unguided by a theoretical framework of intercultural relations (Breitenbach, 1980).

At present, it is not possible to develop a fully integrated theory of intercultural relations. However, we are at the stage in the development of the field where we must set up a framework which defines the major variables which we study. This should at least make it possible for us to know whether we are talking about the same phenomena.

There will be two frameworks posited below. The purpose of these frameworks is to set a course for defining the field. They are models or maps of what is, and they should not be thought of as theories. Rather, the models are meant to describe the field in order to facilitate the development of hypotheses and theories.

The first model will address the full spectrum of the field of intercultural relations and will be presented without much elaboration. The second model will focus on sojourns and will be examined in more detail.¹

¹Both models owe a degree of gratitude to the field of mass communications research. The first model is an expanded variation of one presented by Wright (1975) while the second model was inspired by the works of Lasswell (1960) and Berelson (1948).

Models A - Intercultural Relations

What are the: a. manifest c. functions of e. intercultural for
b. latent d. dysfunction relationships

f. individuals in terms of m. cognitive
g. groups n. affective p. consequences
h. institutions o. behavioral
i. the society
j. the culture
k. the region
l. the world system

Time and space limitations prevent a fuller elaboration of this model in this paper, however, there are some attributes of this model which can be briefly noted.

The use of this framework readily call into question the intended (manifest) and the unintended (latent) and the positive (functions) and negative (dysfunctions) consequences of any intercultural relationship. The general lack of concern for the unintended and negative consequences of intercultural relations, other than adjustment difficulties, found in the reports and research in the field betrays a narrowness of scope when it comes to understanding the full range of consequences of intercultural relationships.

Additionally, this model enables us to readily see that the consequences of intercultural relationships may be positive for some individuals or segments of society, or societies while being negative for others.

A dimension of intercultural relationships which the model may appear to neglect is the importance of antecedent factors which play a role in the very likelihood of an intercultural relationship. However, if within the model we recognize that there are important factors such as: amount of family income available to the individual; degree of heterogeneity within a group; type of reward structure within an institution and degree of modernization of the

society, and that these factors do account for different outcomes, then the model remains self-contained.

The second framework should find many applications in the study of sojourns. Stated simply as a question, the model asks:

Model B - Sojourns

- a. What types of sojourns
- b. experienced by what kind of people
- c. in which situations (under what conditions)
- d. have what kinds of consequences?

This formulation identifies four factors which must be addressed if there is ever to be a general theory of sojourns. Hypotheses and theories of sojourns can be developed only after each of these factors has been operationalized. Having done that, testable hypothesis and predictions can be made by examining the interrelationships of these factors.

An analysis of each of the factors should shed some light on the types of questions which can be, and in some cases have been, examined.

Types of Sojourns

It will come as no surprise that the characteristics of a sojourn can have a profound influence on the consequences of a sojourn. Then why is, that with few exceptions (Brislin, 1981) there are no attempts to describe the various types and attributes of sojourns? Another gap appears in the research on sojourns, where there are few, if any, studies which carefully control for type of sojourn as an independent variable.

There are numerous types and attributes of sojourns which can be studied, these include: length of sojourn (Cussler, 1962); homestay vs. living with co-nationals; and the relative focus of the sojourn; educational, business, military, religious, technical assistance, diplomatic, immigration, tourism.

The list above is certainly not comprehensive. It is meant to point to the need to include the nature and attributes of a sojourn in determining possible outcomes. In the same manner that McLuhan saw the medium as the message, we must not lose sight of the impact of the nature of the sojourn on its consequences.

Types of Individuals

Types of individuals is the primary explanatory factor in much of the research on sojourns. This may, in part, be due to the relative ease of operationalizing and measuring this factor relative to the other three factors in the framework.

Research on the attributes of individuals tends to focus on either psychological or sociological variables.

The psychological attributes of individuals illustrate how different kinds of individuals perceive, structure and are affected by sojourns in different ways. The focus here is on how the individual's attributes help to predict outcomes. Factors which could be included are: personality type (Hopkins, 1982; Ruben and Kealey, 1979); size of categories (Detweiler, 1970); persuasibility; strength, durability and centrality of attitudes; weltanschauung; lability of personality (Brislin, Landis and Brandt, 1983); degree of self esteem (Brislin, 1981) and tolerances of others.

The sociological attributes which rest on the premise that people from similar situations respond in a similar manner to a sojourn would include:

age, sex, race and ethnicity, type of neighborhood, amount of education, social class and mobility potential (Goodman and Barenblatt, 1983), the status of the individual in his home country (Rodgriquez, 1974; Spaulding and Flack, 1976; Useem and Useem, 1980), type of degree being sought, field of study, type of sponsorship, and prior intercultural experiences (Hull, 1978).

There are many other attributes worth considering such as interpersonal skills, language competence, and degree of cross-cultural training (Grove, 1982).

Types of Condition/Situations

The situational factors of a sojourn are amongst the most important factors in determining the outcomes of sojourns. Yet situational variables are amongst the most difficult to study because they are numerous, have an ephemeral nature and defy operationalization and standardization.

The following situational factors are representative of those which are important to the study of sojourns:

Degree and nature of similarity/dissimilarity between home and host culture.

Relative status of home country to host country (Mischler, 1965)

Relative status of sojourner to that of hosts

Degree of perceived harmony between valued groups at home and abroad

Recency and nature of prior exposure to "others."

Degree of sensitivity of hosts (Klineberg & Hull, 1979)

Percent of foreigners on campus or at sight of sojourn

Size of college (Sellitz, 1956)

Presence of superordinate goals (Brislin, 1981)

Appropriateness of work in host country to work in home country

Promise of a career position upon return to home country (Chu, 1968)

Degree of stress (Brislin)

Historical events, especially between home and host countries
(Cormack, 1968)

Personal or social crisis in home or host culture

Presence or absence of orientation or re-entry program (Taft, 1977;
Cussler, 1962)

Number of fellow sojourners in the same occupational sight at home
(Flack, 1980)

Degree of institutional support

Reward systems and structures

This list is not meant to be a comprehensive list of all situational factors, rather it does illustrate some of the situational factors which are critical for understanding sojourns.

Types of Consequences

Since most of us are interested in outcomes, it is the one factor in the framework which is ubiquitous in research on sojourns.

Research on sojourns has almost universally focused on individual attitudinal and behavioral (adjustment) outcomes rather than on group, institutional, societal or world system outcomes.

This is understandable given the difficulty of managing a study which goes beyond examining the participants of a sojourn. However if we are ever to get a complete picture of the consequences of a sojourn we must go beyond the immediate actors. This is not meant to say that research on the attitudes and behaviors of participants are unimportant, they certainly are, and for sound scientific reasons.

Social science research on attitudes has generally found that individuals are resistant to attitudinal change. Support for this premise comes from

research which demonstrates that individuals select, perceive, and retain information which is consistent with their prevailing attitudes and values (Klapper, 1960). People's preference to interact with those who share their attitudes further insulates one's view of the world.

It is for these reasons that the study of attitudinal change during sojourns is so appealing. For it is during a sojourn that the individual is faced with a situation where customary channels of communication, interaction, and peer support are interrupted. Under such circumstances, and faced with information and experiences which are unfamiliar, the individual is far more susceptible to developing new attitudes and reformulating old ones. What is unclear, as of yet, is just which attitudes are changed and for how long.

Studies of attitude change have documented the following: The effect of the sojourn on attitudes varies over time (Gandhi, 1972); sojourns result in attitudinal changes in the following directions—worldmindedness (Kagitcibasi, 1978), third culture identity (Useem & Useem, 1967), multiculturality (Cormack, 1968), transnational accommodation (Angell, 1969), conservatism (Pool, 1965), dependency theory of national development (Young, 1980) and the desire to become an expatriot (Chu, 1968).

Research on behavioral outcomes tend to look at the adjustment of the individual, either during or after a sojourn (Klineberg & Hull, 1979; Benson, 1978). Additional behavioral outcomes have included changes in careers (Young, 1980) and language acquisition.

Few researchers have seriously examined how different cultures define the success of a sojourn (Gutherie and Zektic, 1967; Barber, 1983) or how a successful sojourn can have negative consequences at some later time.

One of the most omnipresent biases of research on sojourns has been its focus on short-term effects on individuals. We will not be able to see the

full spectrum of outcomes until we address ourselves to the short and long term consequences of sojourns for individuals, groups, institutions and societies.

Conclusion

The frameworks presented in this paper identify central factors which should be addressed when studying intercultural relationships and sojourns. It is the interrelationships of these variables which represent the subject matter of theory in this field. While a general theory is not yet possible, descriptions of some of the ways in which these factors operate will be a step in the right direction.

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